

Message Text

PAGE 01 NATO 06942 01 OF 03 131803Z

47

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EURE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00 CIAE-00

PM-03 INR-07 L-02 ACDA-10 NSAE-00 PA-02 RSC-01 PRS-01

SP-02 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 SS-15 NSC-05 H-02 FEAE-00 EB-07

NEA-10 SAM-01 CCO-00 SAB-01 IO-10 SR-02 ORM-01 AID-05

/101 W

----- 056161

O 131605Z DEC 74

FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9324

SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE

USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 3 USNATO 6942

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, NATO, OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)

SUBJECT: TRANSCRIPT OF KISSINGER PRESS CONFERENCE, DECEMBER 13, 1974

DEPT. PASS NSCE FOR GENERAL SCOWCRAFT AND NESSEN

USIA FOR IPS/PE AND IWE/WOZNIAK AND IBS

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, LET ME SIMPLY SAY THAT I THOUGHT THIS WAS A MOST USEFUL, VERY AMICALBE MEETING. THE NEW FORMAT OF RESTRICTED SESSIONS MAKES FOR A BETTER DIALOGUE AND LESS FORMAL STATEMENTS. I RECOGNIZE IT ALSO MAKES FOR MORE ERRATIC BRIEFINGS, SINCE NOT ALL DELEGATIONS INTERPRET THE RESTRICTIONS IN A SIMILAR MANNER, AND WE WILL SORT THAT OUT BY THE NEXT NATO MEETING. SO, FOR THOSE OF YOU WHO HAVE SUFFERED FROM AN EXCESSIVE SCRUPULOUSNESS BY OUR SPOKESMAN, MY APOLOGIES. LET ME TAKE YOUR QUESTIONS.

Q. MR. SECRETARY, THERE IS A LOT OF CONFUSION ON THIS SIDE OF THE ATLANTIC ABOUT A VERY IMPORTANT MATTER WHICH BEARS ON WHAT YOU DISCUSSED HERE WHICH IS -- EXACTLY WHAT IS THE AMERICAN POLICY UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 NATO 06942 01 OF 03 131803Z

NOW WITH REGARD TO THE PRICE OF OIL? I REFER, OF COURSE, TO THE REPORTS ON THE ENDERS STATEMENT AT YALE.

A. MY COLLEAGUE, ENDERS, MAKES SO MANY STATEMENTS THAT WHEN YOU SAY "AT YALE" YOU IMPLY THAT THIS IS A VERY CLEARLY CIRCUMSCRIBED

EVENT. THE AMERICAN POLICY ON THE PRICE OF OIL IS THAT WE BELIEVE THAT THE PRESENT OIL PRICES ARE TOO HIGH AND THAT FOR THE SAKE OF THE STABILITY AND PROGRESS OF THE WORLD ECONOMY, IT SHOULD BE REDUCED. AND THAT THIS IS ALSO IN THE LONG-TERM INTEREST OF THE PRODUCERS. IN THE ABSENCE OF THESE PRICE REDUCTIONS, IT IS OUR POLICY THAT THE CONSUMING NATIONS SHOULD IMPROVE THEIR COOPERATION IN ORDER TO WITHSTAND THE IMPACT OF THESE HIGH PRICES AND ALSO TO PROVIDE INCENTIVES FOR AN ULTIMATE REDUCTION OF PRICES. ONE OF THESE EFFORTS TO MITIGATE THE IMPACT OF HIGH OIL PRICES IS TO DEVELOP ALTERNATIVE SOURCES OF ENERGY, AND THERE HAVE BEEN SOME STUDIES ON WHETHER AN INCENTIVE SHOULD BE CREATED FOR THESE ALTERNATIVE SOURCES OF ENERGY BY CREATING A FLOOR PRICE SO THAT IF THE PRICE OF OIL SINKS BELOW THAT OF THE ALTERNATIVE SOURCES OF ENERGY, THERE WON'T BE MASSIVE ECONOMIC DISLOCATION. BUT AT THIS POINT, THIS IS A SUBJECT OF STUDY AND CONSIDERATION. IT IS NOT A GOVERNMENTAL DECISION. AND, AS I SAID,

I THINK MY COLLEAGUE, ENDERS, WAS SPEAKING IN AN ACADEMIC ENVIRONMENT, ACADEMICALLY.

Q. CONCERNING THE ENERGY PROBLEM, MR. SECRETARY, DO YOU THINK THAT THERE IS ANY CONTRADICTION BETWEEN THE WAY THE UNITED STATES WANTS TO START COOPERATION AND THE FRENCH WAY; AND AFTER YOUR MEETING WITH MR. SAUVAGNARGUES, DO YOU THINK THAT AGREEMENT CAN BE REACHED ON THAT PROBLEM BETWEEN BOTH PRESIDENT FORD AND GISCARD D'ESTAING IN MARTINIQUE?

A. WE ARE APPROACHING THE MEETING IN MARTINIQUE WITH THE ATTITUDE OF INTENDING TO FIND A SOLUTION TO THE DIFFERENCES THAT MAY EXIST. IN PRINCIPLE, WE DO NOT BELIEVE THAT THERE IS A CONTRADICTION BETWEEN CONSUMER-PRODUCER DIALOGUE. IN FACT, WE BELIEVE THAT CONSUMER COOPERATION IS THE PREREQUISITE TO A PRODUCER DIALOGUE, BECAUSE OTHERWISE THE CONSUMER-PRODUCER DIALOGUE IS GOING TO TURN INTO A REPETITION ON A MULTILATERAL BASIS OF THE BILATERAL DIALOGUES THAT ARE ALREADY GOING ON. SO, WE BELIEVE THAT SOLUTION IS POSSIBLE AND THAT THE TWO APPROACHES WHICH ARE NOT CONTRADICTORY CAN BE RECONCILED; AND I WOULD LIKE TO POINT OUT THAT AT THE WASHINGTON ENERGY CONFERENCE LAST YEAR THE UNITED STATES PROPOSED THAT CONSUMER COOPERATION SHOULD BE FOLLOWED BY CONSUMER-
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 03 NATO 06942 01 OF 03 131803Z

PRODUCER DIALOGUE. IN SHORT, WE ARE GOING TO MARTINIQUE WITH THE ATTITUDE THAT A SOLUTION IS POSSIBLE IN THE COMMON INTEREST OF ALL OF THE CONSUMERS AND, ULTIMATELY, IN THE COMMON INTEREST OF BOTH CONSUMERS AND PRODUCERS.

Q. I WOULD LIKE TO KNOW (AFTER) THE ATLANTIC COUNCIL IF YOU (FEEL) THAT THERE ARE YET MAJOR DIFFERENCES TO OVERCOME IN THE OIL STRATEGY, AND, SECOND, IF YOU ARE CONCERNED ABOUT THE PRESENT STATUS OF THE ALLIANCE IN THE MEDITERRANEAN. AND IF YOU ASK OF YOUR ALLIES AN EXTRA EFFORT IN THIS AREA.

A. ON OIL STRATEGY, I THINK THERE IS AGREEMENT -- OR I HAD THE IMPRESSION THAT THERE IS AGREEMENT -- ABOUT THE SEQUENCE OF MOVES THAT SHOULD BE UNDERTAKEN. WHETHER THE DEFINITION OF WHAT CONSTITUTES CONSUMER COOPERATION IS AS YET HOMOGENEOUS,

I AM NOT SURE, BUT WE WILL TRY TO WORK THAT OUT IN MARTINIQUE. WE CERTAINLY DO NOT BELIEVE THAT THE CONSUMERS SHOULD EXHAUST THEIR ENERGY IN DISPUTES AMONG THEMSELVES. WE ARE GOING TO MARTINIQUE WITH A POSITIVE ATTITUDE AND WITH THE INTENTION OF FINDING A SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM OF THE SEQUENCE, WHICH I THINK WILL BE RELATIVELY EASY, AND THE DEFINITION OF CONSUMER COOPERATION, WHICH WE BELIEVE TO BE POSSIBLE. WITH RESPECT TO THE MEDITERRANEAN, THIS IS, OF COURSE, AN AREA OF CONCERN. IT WAS DISCUSSED IN THE NATO COUNCIL AND I DO NOT THINK THAT THERE WERE SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES OF OPINION.

Q. WE HEARD THAT IN THE MINISTERIAL MEETING YOU MENTIONED TO YOUR COLLEAGUES THAT YOU ARE PESSIMISTIC REGARDING A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT IN THE MIDDLE EAST. IS IT BECAUSE OF THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT OR IS IT BECAUSE OF THE OIL CRISIS?...

A. IT IS TOTALLY UNTRUE. I DID NOT EXPRESS PESSIMISM ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT. MY SENTENCE STRUCTURE IS SO COMPLICATED THAT MY COLLEAGUES SOMETIMES MISS THE END OF THE SENTENCE AND CONCENTRATE ON THE BEGINNING(LAUGHTER). SO I WOULD LIKE TO MAKE ABSOLUTELY CLEAR THAT I AM NOT PESSIMISTIC BOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT. THE UNITED STATES IS MAKING AMAJOR EFFORT TO PRODUCE PROGRESS TOWARDS A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT, AND I AM NOT AT ALL PESSIMISTIC ABOUT IT. QUITE THE CONTRARY.

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 01 NATO 06942 02 OF 03 131851Z

47

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EURE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00 CIAE-00

PM-03 INR-07 L-02 ACDA-10 NSAE-00 PA-02 RSC-01 PRS-01

SP-02 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 SS-15 NSC-05 H-02 FEAE-00 EB-07

NEA-10 SAM-01 CCO-00 SAB-01 IO-10 SR-02 ORM-01 AID-05

/101 W

----- 056717

O 131605Z DEC 74

FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9325

SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE

USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE

UNCLAS SECTION 2 OF 3 USNATO 6942

Q. CAN YOU PUT AN END TO THESE RUMORS THAT THERE IS AN AMERICAN SPECIAL ARMY WHICH IS TRAINING NOW TO OCCUPY ARAB OIL FIELDS AS ONE OF YOUR WAYS TO GET...

A. THERE IS NO AMERICAN ARMY THAT IS BEING TRAINED TO TAKE OVER ARAB OIL FIELDS.

Q. DO YOU SEE ANY HOPE OF FURTHER POLITICAL PROGRESS IN THE MIDDLE EAST BEFORE BREZHNEV'S VISIT TO CAIRO?

A. THE UNITED STATES CANNOT MAKE ITS ACTIONS DEPENDENT ON THE TRAVELS OF THE GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION, AND THEREFORE WE WILL DO OUR BEST TO MAKE PROGRESS AS RAPIDLY AS POSSIBLE. AS YOU KNOW, I HAVE HAD TALKS WITH THE FOREIGN MINISTER OF ISRAEL AND I EXPECT TO SEE HIM AGAIN IN JANUARY, BUT WE ARE NOT FOLLOWING A TIMETABLE WHICH IS DICTATED BY THE TRAVELS OF MR. BREZHNEV, NOR, MAY I SAY, HAVE WE BEEN ASKED BY ANY ARAB GOVERNMENT TO GEAR OUR ACTIONS TO THE TRAVELS OF MR. BREZHNEV.

Q. I UNDERSTAND THAT THE MAJOR PART OF THE DISCUSSIONS HELD HERE THIS WEEK DEALT WITH QUESTIONS OF DEFENSE. WHAT PART OF THE COUNCIL TIME WAS DEVOTED TO THE HUMANITARIAN PROBLEM OF ALLEVIATING THE SUFFERING OF 200,000 GREEK CYPRIOT REFUGEES WHO ARE SPENDING UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 NATO 06942 02 OF 03 131851Z

THE WINTER IN TENTS?

A. AS YOU KNOW, I HAVE SPENT PERSONALLY A GREAT DEAL OF TIME WITH THE FOREIGN MINISTERS OF GREECE AND TURKEY, SEEING EACH OF THEM SEVERAL TIMES EACH DAY WITH THE INTENTION OF NARROWING THE DIFFERENCES AND FINDING AN ACCEPTABLE BASIS FOR NEGOTIATION. I DID THIS BECAUSE ULTIMATELY THE ALLEVIATION OF THE SUFFERING OF THE REFUGEES IN CYPRUS, WITH WHICH THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT IS PROFOUNDLY CONCERNED, CAN BEST BE ACHIEVED THROUGH A POLITICAL SOLUTION OF THE CYPRUS PROBLEM. WHILE I DO NOT WANT TO MAKE ANY COMMENTS ABOUT THESE CONVERSATIONS, I AM MORE HOPEFUL THAN I WAS BEFORE I ARRIVED THAT PROGRESS IS POSSIBLE AND MAY BECOME VISIBLE AS EVENTS UNFOLD. IN ADDITION TO THIS, THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT IS PROFOUNDLY CONCERNED WITH THE FATE OF THE REFUGEES AND WILL IN THE INTERLUDE BETWEEN NOW AND A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT DO ITS UTMOST TO EASE THEIR PLIGHT. MOREOVER, THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT IS PREPARED TO USE ITS INFLUENCE WITH THE PARTIES TO BRING ABOUT A SETTLEMENT WHICH IS JUST AND EQUITABLE. AS FAR AS THE NATO MEETING ITSELF IS CONCERNED, IT WAS THOUGHT BEST NOT TO TURN IT INTO A CONFRONTATION AND I MUST SAY THE FOREIGN MINISTERS OF GREECE AND TURKEY BOTH SPOKE WITH RESTRAINT AND WISDOM AND IN A MANNER WHICH I THINK CONTRIBUTED TO THE HOPES FOR A PEACEFUL SOLUTION WHICH WE ALL SHARE, AND WHICH MAY HAVE BEEN BROUGHT SOMEWHAT CLOSER.

Q. DO YOU THINK THAT YOUR TALKS WITH THE TWO MINISTERS CONTRIBUTED TO MODERATION BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES AND THAT AFTER YOUR TALKS WITH THEM THAT THE INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS IN CYPRUS WILL START SOON?

A. I THINK THAT WITH RESPECT TO THE INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS THAT ANY ANNOUNCEMENT WITH RESPECT TO THAT WOULD HAVE TO COME FROM NICOSIA, AND THIS IS A MATTER FOR THE TWO COMMUNITIES TO DECIDE AND NOT FOR THE AMERICAN SECRETARY OF STATE TO DETERMINE OR TO ANNOUNCE. IT IS MY IMPRESSION THAT THE TALKS -- I DON'T KNOW WHETHER THE TALKS CONTRIBUTED TO AN ATMOSPHERE OF MODERATION OR COULD BUILD ON AN EXISTING ATMOSPHERE OF MODERATION. AS I SAID,

I AM MORE HOPEFUL THAN I WAS WHEN I CAME HERE THAT PROGRESS CAN BE MADE.

Q. I AM A LITTLE PUZZLED BY YOUR EXPRESSION OF HOPE. A SENIOR AMERICAN OFFICIAL SAID EARLIER THAT VERY LITTLE COULD COME OUT OF THESE DISCUSSIONS IN VIEW OF THE AMERICAN CONGRESS' ACTION TO CUT OFF AID TO TURKEY. DOESN'T THAT STILL PERTAIN?

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 03 NATO 06942 02 OF 03 131851Z

A. THAT STILL PERTAINS TO THE SUBSTANCE OF THE TALKS. THE QUESTION CONCERNS PROCEDURES. I BELIEVE THAT CONDITIONS EXIST FOR PROGRESS AND NEGOTIATIONS. I ALSO BELIEVE THAT THE ACTIONS OF THE AMERICAN CONGRESS, IF THEY ARE MAINTAINED, WILL IMPEDE THIS PROGRESS. I HAVE SAID SO REPEATEDLY.

Q. WHAT ARE YOUR VIEWS ON THE ANXIETY OF MR. BREZHNEV FOR THE EUROPEAN SUMMIT, FOR THE SUMMIT OF THE EUROPEAN SECURITY CONFERENCE, AND THE RECENT TALKS IN FRANCE WHERE FRANCE IN SOME WAY ENDORSED THE EUROPEAN SECURITY CONFERENCE SUMMIT NEXT YEAR IN HELSINKI?

A. THE UNITED STATES HAS MAINTAINED THE POSITION, WHICH IT ADOPTED TOGETHER WITH ITS OTHER ALLIES, THAT THE DECISION ON WHETHER THERE SHOULD BE A SUMMIT SHOULD AWAIT THE DETERMINATION OF THE RESULTS OF THE SECOND STAGE OF THE CONFERENCE. THIS HAS BEEN THE AMERICAN POSITION AND IT REMAINS THE AMERICAN POSITION, AND IT IS THAT IF THE RESULTS JUSTIFY IT, WE ARE PREPARED TO GO TO A SUMMIT. AND THERE HAS BEEN NO CHANGE IN OUR POSITION. I CAN'T INTERPRET THE FRANCO-SOVIET COMMUNIQUE BECAUSE IT HAS BEEN EXPLAINED TO ME THAT THERE ARE SUBLTIES IN THE FRENCH LANGUAGE THAT ARE UNTRANSLATABLE INTO ENGLISH (LAUGHTER). IF THAT IS SO, IT MAY BE THAT THEY FOLLOW THE SAME PRINCIPLES THAT I HAVE JUST ANNOUNCED.

Q. MR. SECRETARY, AFTER YOUR CONVERSATION WITH THE GREEK AND TURKISH MINISTERS, YOU ARE A LITTLE BIT ENCOURAGED. DO YOU HAVE THE IMPRESSION THAT A SOLUTION CAN BE ACHIEVED IF YOU COULD, FOR EXAMPLE, MAKE A TRIP TO ATHENS, ANKARA AND NICOSIA?

A. NONE OF YOU WILL EVER KNOW WHETHER I UNDERSTAND FRENCH OR NOT (LAUGHTER) BUT IT IS NOT NECESSARY FOR MY ANSWER (LAUGHTER). I WOULD LIKE TO REPEAT WHAT I SAID IN REPLY TO MR. FREED. WHETHER SUBSTANTIVE PROGRESS CAN BE MADE DEPENDS IN PART ON CERTAIN DOMESTIC LEGISLATIVE ISSUES THAT ARE YET TO BE RESOLVED IN THE UNITED STATES. I WOULD ALSO LIKE TO EMPHASIZE AGAIN WHAT I HAVE SAID REPEATEDLY -- THAT THE UNITED STATES SUPPORTS AID FOR TURKEY NOT IN ORDER TO TAKE SIDES IN THE GREEK-TURKISH DISPUTE AND NOT AS A FAVOR TO TURKEY BUT BECAUSE IT BELIEVES IT IS ESSENTIAL FOR THE SECURITY OF THE WEST. NOW, IF I UNDERSTOOD THE QUESTION CORRECTLY -- WHETHER IT INVOLVES TRAVELS TO ANKARA, ATHENS AND NICOSIA -- WE BELIEVE THAT THE MAJOR PROBLEM IS TO GET THE TALKS STARTED, AND ONCE THE TALKS ARE STARTED WITH THE RIGHT ATTITUDE, THE UNITED STATES WILL BE PREPARED TO DO WHAT THE PARTIES REQUEST TO ACCELERATE THEM AND TO HELP THEM ALONG.

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 04 NATO 06942 02 OF 03 131851Z

BUT I THINK WE CANNOT DETERMINE THIS UNTIL THE TALKS HAVE BEEN STARTED. BUT I HOPE THAT PROGRESS CAN BE MADE, AND FAIRLY SOON.

Q. MR. KISSINGER, YOU SPEAK FRENCH WITHOUT SUBTLETY, VERY SIMPLY. IT SEEMS THAT SOME TIME AGO, YOU WERE VERY CONCERNED ABOUT THE INTERNAL ITALIAN POLITICAL SITUATION. ARE YOU STILL SO CONCERNED?

A. I DO NOT BELIEVE THAT I HAVE STATED ANY PUBLIC VIEWS ON THE INTERIOR SITUATION OF ITALY. IT IS ALWAYS COMPLICATED AND ALWAYS SEEMS TO GET SOLVED, AND I THINK THAT I HAVE SOMUCH DIFFICULTY CONDUCTING FOREIGN POLICY THAT I DON'T WANT TO GET INVOLVED IN THE DOMESTIC POLITICS OF THE COUNTRY THAT PRODUCED MACHIAVELLI (LAUGHTER).

Q. MR. SECRETARY, YOU SAID THAT YOU WERE NOT FAMILIAR WITH THE SUBTLETIES OF THE FRENCH LANGUAGE, BUT I HEARD YESTERDAY THAT YOU ASKED MR. SAUVAGNARGUES FOR HIS INTERPRETATION OF THE PARAGRAPH OF THE RAMBOUILLET COMMUNIQUE ON THE EUROPEAN SECURITY CONFERENCE. MR. SAUVAGNARGUES GAVE IT TO YOU. HE SAID THAT IT HAD THE SAME MEANING AS THE VLADIVOSTOK COMMUNIQUE, AND YOU SAID THAT YOU DID NOT AGREE IS THIS TRUE?

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 01 NATO 06942 03 OF 03 131836Z

47

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EURE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00 CIAE-00

PM-03 INR-07 L-02 ACDA-10 NSAE-00 PA-02 RSC-01 PRS-01

SP-02 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 SS-15 NSC-05 H-02 FEAE-00 EB-07

NEA-10 SAM-01 CCO-00 SAB-01 IO-10 SR-02 ORM-01 AID-05

/101 W

----- 056578

O 131605Z DEC 74

FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9326

SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE

USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE

UNCLAS SECTION 3 OF 3 USNATO 6942

A. I THINK AS A MATTER OF PRINCIPLE WE SHOULD NOT BEGIN THE PRACTICE OF RESTRICTED SESSIONS BY THEN DISCUSSING WHAT WENT ON IN RESTRICTED SESSION. IF, AS I POINTED OUT BEFORE, IF THE COMMUNIQUE FROM RAMBOUILLET HAS THE SAME MEANING AS THE COMMUNIQUE IN VLADIVOSTOK, THEN OF COURSE WE AGREE WITH IT (LAUGHTER). IF IT HAS A DIFFERENT MEANING, THEN WE WOULD OBVIOUSLY HAVE THAT DEGREE OF DISAGREEMENT WITH IT, SINCE

ONLY TWO WEEKS BEFORE WE FOUND ANOTHER FORMULATION BETTER;
BUT I AM WILLING TO ACCEPT THE FRENCH STATEMENT THAT IT
HAS EXACTLY THE SAME MEANING.

Q. YOU ARE THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE MOST POWERFUL AND THE
RICHEST NATION IN THE WORLD. YOU THEREFORE HAVE AN ENORMOUS
INFLUENCE TO WHICH IS ADDED YOUR OWN WELL-KNOWN, PERSONAL
DYNAMISM. HOWEVER, A NUMBER OF COUNTRIES AND PEOPLE ARE
CONCERNED BECAUSE YOUR POWER GIVES YOU THE APPEARANCE OF AN
ELEPHANT. WHEN AN ELEPHANT TURNS AROUND, HE SOMETIMES DOES
DAMAGE -- EVEN WHEN MAKING A GESTURE OF FRIENDSHIP. WHAT
ARE YOU DOING PERSONALLY, MR. KISSINGER, TO SEE TO IT THAT
THE ELEPHANT RETAINS HIS GOODNESS BUT IS NOT TOO HEAVY WHEN
HE LEANS IN A CERTAIN DIRECTION (LAUGHTER)?

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 NATO 06942 03 OF 03 131836Z

A. I THINK THAT THIS IS A SERIOUS QUESTION ACTUALLY, AND
IT IS A PROBLEM THAT THE UNITED STATES, BECAUSE OF ITS SCALE,
CAN PRODUCE CONSEQUENCES WITH THE BEST OF INTENTIONS THAT
ARE OUT OF SCALE FOR SOME OF ITS ALLIES AND PARTNERS. NOW,
KNOWING THE PROBLEM DOESN'T NECESSARILY MEAN THAT YOU KNOW
HOW TO SOLVE IT, AND, AS I POINTED OUT YESTERDAY TO SOME OF
MY COLLEAGUES, IN THE ECONOMIC FIELD, FOR EXAMPLE, WE ARE
PREPARED TO DISCUSS WITH OUR FRIENDS OUR LONG-TERM INTENTIONS
AND TO HEAR THEIR VIEWS BEFORE WE MAKE ANY IRREVOCABLE DE-
CISIONS. AND THE BEST SOLUTION WE HAVE IS, ONE, THAT WE
SHOULD BE AWARE OF THE PROBLEM, AND SECONDLY, THAT WE SHOULD
HAVE INTENSIVE CONSULTATIONS WITH OUR ALLIES IN MORE FIELDS
THAN HAS BEEN CUSTOMARY TO GIVE THEM AN OPPORTUNITY TO LEARN
OUR VIEWS AND TO GIVE US AN OPPORTUNITY TO LEARN THEIR CON-
CERNS. I KNOW THE WORD "CONSULTATION" IS ONE OF THESE THAT
PRODUCES LINGUISTIC DIFFICULTIES AND WE ARE HAPPY TO CALL
IT BY SOME OTHER NAME IF IT HELPS MATTERS.

Q. (CAN YOU SAY WHAT YOU FEEL WILL BE THE IMPACT OF) THE
ECONOMIC RECESSION AND HIGH OIL PRICES ON THE NATO MILITARY
ALLIANCE, EITHER NOW OR IN THE FUTURE?

A. SOME OF THESE ACCOUNTS HAVE AN EVEN GREATER SENSE OF THE
DRAMATIC THAN THE OFFICIALS. THE BASIC ISSUE IS THAT, IN THE
20S AND 30S, THE PROBLEM OF THE INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES
WAS DEPRESSION. GRADUALLY A THEORY WAS DEVELOPED, THE
KEYNESIAN THEORY, WHICH WAS A MEANS OF OVERCOMING DEPRESS-
IONS, AND WHEN IT WAS APPLIED ON A SUFFICIENTLY MASSIVE
SCALE, IT WORKED. THE PROBLEM OF THE INDUSTRIALIZED WORLD
SINCE THE WAR HAS BEEN INFLATION, AND INFLATION THAT
SOMETIMES CONTINUES EVEN DURING PERIODS OF RECESSION. THIS
IS AN INHERENT PROBLEM OF ALL WESTERN SOCIETIES FOR WHICH
NO ADEQUATE THEORY EXISTS AND THEREFORE NOW, UNDER THE IM-
PACT OF HIGH OIL PRICES, OF A CONCURRENT INFLATION AND
POTENTIAL RECESSION, IT IS NECESSARY TO TAKE DECISIVE ACTION
TO MAINTAIN BOTH THE ECONOMIC STABILITY AND PROGRESS AND
THE POLITICAL STABILITY OF THESE COUNTRIES. THIS IS A WELL-
KNOWN FACT, AND OF COURSE IF IT ISN'T MASTERED, POLITICAL
INSTABILITY WILL GROW AND THEREFORE IT IS BOUND TO AFFECT

DEFENSE. THIS IS A PROBLEM WITH WHICH I BELIEVE ALL MY COLLEAGUES AGREED AND SOME OF WHOM STATED IT MUCH MORE ELOQUENTLY THAN I DID, AND IN WHICH I HAD THE IMPRESSION THAT ALL THE DELEGATIONS AGREED TO WORK WITH GREAT SERIOUSNESS

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 03 NATO 06942 03 OF 03 131836Z

EVEN IN THE ABSENCE OF THE ADEQUATE CONCEPTION OF HOW TO APPROACH IT. NOW, I KNOW THAT MR. CALLAGHAN HAS THIS ROOM RESERVED, LET ME TAKE THEREFORE ONLY TWO MORE QUESTIONS.

Q. CAN WE GO BACK TO THE TURKISH QUESTION? YOU SAID BEFORE LEAVING WASHINGTON THAT A CUT-OFF IN MILITARY AID TO TURKEY MIGHT UNDERMINE YOUR TALKS ON THE CYPRUS QUESTION. YOU HAVE NOW HAD THREE DAYS OF TALKS WITH THE GREEK AND TURKISH FOREIGN MINISTERS. WOULD YOU NOW SAY IN FACT THAT IT DID UNDERMINE YOUR CONVERSATIONS?

A. I MAINTAIN TWO POINTS WHICH I THINK IT IS IMPORTANT TO KEEP IN MIND. I CANNOT REPEAT THEM OFTEN ENOUGH. AMERICAN AID TO TURKEY IS NOT GIVEN AS A FAVOR TO TURKEY. IT IS GIVEN FOR THE COMMON DEFENSE OF THE WEST. AND WHEN WE START SING AID TO AFFECT IMMEDIATE TACTICAL ISSUE, WE WILL OVER A PERIOD OF TIME UNDERMINE THE COHESION OF THE ALLIANCE, THE SECURITY OF THE WEST AND CREATE A TOTALLY WRONG IMPRESSION OF THE NATURE OF OUR MILITARY AID, AND I, THEREFORE, BELIEVE IT IS ONE OF THE MOST DANGEROUS THINGS THAT HAS BEEN DONE. SECONDLY, WITH RESPECT TO THE TALKS: THE TALKS AS THEY HAVE BEEN NOW HAVE NOT YET BEEN UNDERMINED BY IT. IF THE AID OF CONTINUED, HOWEVER, PROGRESS IS EXTREMELY UNLIKELY; THEREFORE, WE HAVE HELD THE TALKS UP TO NOW IN THE CONTEXT OF A SITUATION IN WHICH PROGRESS CAN BE MADE. IT IS MY JUDGMENT THAT THIS PROGRESS WILL BECOME VERY DIFFICULT IF THE AID IS DISCONTINUED. LET ME JUST MAKE ONE OTHER POINT. I'M NOT SAYING THIS IN ORDER TO BACK TURKEY AGAINST GREECE. I STATED ON SATURDAY IN WASHINGTON THAT THE UNITED STATES BELIEVES THAT CONCILIATION ON THE PART OF TURKEY IS VERY IMPORTANT, AND THAT IT WILL SUPPORT A SOLUTION WHICH IS FAIR TO ALL SIDES. AND THAT WAS THE SPIRIT WITH WHICH I TALKED TO BOTH FOREIGN MINISTERS.

Q. DO YOU THINK THAT AFTER THIS MINISTERIAL COUNCIL MEETING NATO WILL REMAIN MORE UNITED AND COHERENT?

A. I THINK THIS MEETING WAS PROBABLY THE BEST THAT I'VE ATTENDED AS SECRETARY OF STATE, PROBABLY BECAUSE THE FORMAT OF THE RESTRICTED MEETING AND THE ABSENCE OF FORMAL SPEECHES AND A FREER GIVE AND TAKE PERMITTED A DISCUSSION OF THE MORE ESSENTIAL ISSUES, AND, SECONDLY, BECAUSE I HAVE THE IMPRESSION THAT THE FOREIGN MINISTERS OF THE ALLIANCE UNDERSTAND THE FUNDAMENTAL ISSUES THAT CONFRONT THE WEST AND ACTED IN A COOPERATIVE AND CONSTRUCTIVE SPIRIT, AND THERE WERE NO

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 04 NATO 06942 03 OF 03 131836Z

SIGNIFICANT DIVISIONS. THANK YOU VERY MUCH. BRUCE

UNCLASSIFIED

<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 11 JUN 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 13 DEC 1974
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: n/a
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: n/a
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment:
Disposition Date: 01 JAN 1960
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1974ATO06942
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: n/a
Film Number: n/a
From: NATO
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1974/newtext/t19741275/abbryzbe.tel
Line Count: 434
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: n/a
Original Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 8
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: n/a
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: garlanwa
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 29 MAY 2002
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <29 MAY 2002 by colstocv>; APPROVED <28-Oct-2002 by garlanwa>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: TRANSCRIPT OF KISSINGER PRESS CONFERENCE, DECEMBER 13, 1974
TAGS: PFOR, NATO, OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)
To: STATE
SECDEF
USIA
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005